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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 26th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KALPAGE (Sri Lanka)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242 and Corr.1 (Spanish only) and Corr.2 (Spanish only), A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1-S/26450/Add.1 and A/48/403/Add.1/Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1/Corr.1, A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and A/C.4/48/L.19)

1. Mr. AL-OTAIBI (Kuwait) noted the increasing importance of peace-keeping operations. On the one hand, more States were requesting United Nations assistance and, on the other hand, the mandate of the operations had been extended to include such matters as human rights and election-monitoring, as in Somalia and Mozambique. That being the case, efforts to examine the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations should be redoubled. Referring to paragraph 63 of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/48/173), he said that the failure of some States to pay their assessed contributions was disturbing, since it could leave the operations themselves in a precarious situation.

2. Of most immediate interest to his country was the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM). Its importance was such that Kuwait had decided to finance two thirds of its costs in the current year. He expressed his gratitude to States which had helped with UNIKOM and in other ways, despite the dangers and difficulties involved.

3. He recalled that Security Council resolution 687 (1991), which had been adopted following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, had been primarily concerned with monitoring cease-fire violations, whereas Security Council resolution 806 (1993) had recommended extending UNIKOM, giving it a wider sphere of competence. For reasons which Kuwait understood, the Secretary-General had been unable to implement those recommendations; as a result, Iraq had continued its incursions into Kuwaiti territory. Following the most recent such incursion, on 16 and 20 November 1993, Kuwait had issued a presidential statement calling on Iraq to desist.

4. Peace in the region was impossible until Iraq respected the international border between Iraq and Kuwait and withdrew its claim on Kuwait. Every day brought further incidents that threatened international peace and security. He therefore urged the international community to continue to help his country, just as his country helped others, for example, in the United Nations force in Somalia. Reiterating that the financing of peace-keeping operations was a collective responsibility, as laid down in Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, he said that his country would do everything in its power to ensure that UNIKOM discharged its mission successfully. Kuwait supported all efforts directed at achieving international peace and security.

5. Mr. ANNAN (Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations), commenting on issues that had been raised during the debate in the Committee, said that while mandates and resources had to come from Member States, much also depended on the Secretariat. In the quest for efficiency, the Department of

(Mr. Annan)

Peace-keeping Operations had been restructured over the past year. Pointing out that it was currently involved in some 17 peace-keeping operations, varying in scope and complexity, he said that merging the Department with the Field Operations Division, which had provided administrative and logistical support to operations, would make it more responsive to the growing demand for their services.

6. The Secretary-General intended to strengthen the Department further by creating a post of Assistant Secretary-General, with responsibility for the planning and support of peace-keeping operations. Training capabilities were also to be improved: materials would be developed and, with the help of the Ford Foundation, a list would be drawn up of institutes around the world which could teach peace-keeping techniques. That information would be available to countries wishing to train troops.

7. In order to accelerate the deployment of troops, the Department was working on stand-by arrangements. Memorandums of understanding would be drawn up with interested Governments to establish who could provide what. Seven officers were currently working on the arrangements, which would greatly help with planning. In that connection, he said that another innovation was the establishment of a planning unit, which would analyse plans from existing missions and thus be in a position to undertake forward thinking and planning and to reorganize existing missions, such as that in Bosnia. He was aware that some Member States would have preferred a permanent headquarters, along the lines of that of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but he was afraid that they would not be able to sustain such a headquarters financially. Until the field headquarters was fully established he hoped to deploy members of the planning team in the field.

8. He expressed his gratitude to Member States for their efforts to protect United Nations peace-keepers. Between 1948 and 1988 there had been 723 deaths of peace-keeping personnel; during the current year there had already been 180. In those circumstances, greater protection for peace-keepers was much needed. In that context and in response to criticisms that United Nations peace-keeping operations were becoming unduly militaristic, he said that the United Nations was operating in more violent situations and that peace-keepers had sometimes had to kill innocent civilians in self-defence.

9. He apologized to Member States for the tardy reimbursement of amounts owed to them. His Department was working on collecting the assessed contributions of States which had not paid so that those who had borne the brunt of financing peace-keeping operations could be reimbursed.

10. Referring to the draft resolution on strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities (A/C.4/48/L.19), he said that the Secretariat considered it so important that it had brought together eight generals to review the whole issue of command and control. As the situations faced became more dangerous, so the issue became more critical. When troops were asked to do something risky, a general in the field might demur at the use of his own contingent rather than another; that attitude could, however, put all

(Mr. Annan)

contingents at risk. As casualties grew, Governments became reluctant to deploy their troops.

11. Lastly, he appealed to all States to give peace-keeping operations their full support. The sustained political will and support of all countries was needed on two levels: legislators had to be convinced that peace-keeping was an essential aspect of the modern world, and the public in all their respective countries should be educated along the same lines. The Secretariat would do all it could to help Member States to achieve both those aims.

12. Mr. SHAMBOS (Cyprus) said that in the current period of transition the international situation was most volatile and unstable. With widespread violent conflicts taking place, the dream of a new world order remained as elusive as ever. It could only be realized if the ability of the international community to deal with conflicts was strengthened. International peace and security were bound up not only with military, but also with political, legal, humanitarian, economic and environmental issues.

13. His delegation supported draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.18 and A/C.4/48/L.19, which he hoped would be adopted by consensus.

14. Cyprus, which was itself the victim of foreign aggression and occupation, had consistently welcomed all ideas aimed at strengthening United Nations peace-keeping efforts. The contribution of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) since 1964 had been invaluable, although its presence in the island had not prevented the military invasion and occupation of almost 40 per cent of its territory in 1974. Some had called for the withdrawal of UNFICYP on the grounds that it had been in place too long, but he shared the Secretary-General's view that its withdrawal might give rise to incidents which could escalate and result in a conflict, with significant consequences for the security of both communities in Cyprus. What was needed was a negotiated settlement which was mutually acceptable to the two communities. Meanwhile he reminded the Committee that, instead of withdrawing, as numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions had called upon them to do, the occupation troops had been strengthened. Their military equipment and armaments had recently been upgraded and increased and the stockpiling of additional military supplies had reached alarming proportions. In those circumstances the continued presence of UNFICYP was indispensable.

15. The cost, however, was high. His Government, which had welcomed the decision adopted in September 1993 concerning the financing of UNFICYP, had increased its voluntary contribution to $18.5 million, which amounted to almost half the cost of maintaining the operation in Cyprus.

16. A broader lesson might be drawn from his country's experience. Peacemaking would lag behind peace-keeping as long as one of the parties concerned was not willing to comply with the dictates of the international community. The answer was not to abandon the peace-keeping effort, but to press on with the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions by all available means. In that process there should be no distinctive selectivity and no

(Mr. Shambos, Cyprus)

yielding to expediency and double standards, which could only serve to generate failure, prolong ineffective peace-keeping operations and perpetuate conflicts. Otherwise succeeding generations would pay the price of the current generation's follies.

17. Mr. TASOVSKI (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), noting that preventive diplomacy was preferable to traditional peace-keeping in dealing with conflicts, said that United Nations peace-keeping was at a critical juncture: not only were peace-keeping operations growing exponentially but their mandates were evolving dramatically to include more complex tasks. Consequently, it was vital for the Security Council to ensure that the mandates were clear and that the needed financial, human and material resources were available. Uniform high standards should be developed for peace-keeping operations through a common training programme.

18. The suggestions in the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", offered a solid basis for enhancing the role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security, a responsibility which it should share with the Security Council. Another issue of paramount importance was the safety and security of peace-keeping personnel. In that connection, his delegation supported the recommendations in both the report of the Secretary-General on that subject (A/48/349) and the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/48/173).

19. In his own country, a contingent of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had been preventively deployed on the borders in order to ensure the nation's security, with exemplary results. It was the first time in United Nations history that military units had been used to prevent the spillover of a war. Because of its special character, the mission should be placed directly under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

20. His Government was ready to join in cooperative arrangements for the training of military, civilian and police personnel to participate in peace-keeping operations. It also supported the establishment of a memorial for peace-keepers who had lost their lives. It believed that smaller countries with a limited military capability should also contribute to peace-keeping operations, although for them financing would obviously be a burden that must be alleviated by the most developed States; that would enable the developing countries to assume a responsibility common to all Members of the United Nations.

21. Mr. LI Song Jin (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) said that throughout the world, religious, ethnic and territorial conflicts were bringing about a sharp increase in peace-keeping operations, which placed a financial burden on the United Nations and jeopardized the safety of the personnel involved in them. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea had maintained the consistent position that all international disputes should be resolved peacefully through dialogue and negotiation. The use of force and sanctions could not solve international conflicts; on the contrary, it seriously harmed the socio-political life of countries and led to an increase in tension.

(Mr. Li Song Jin, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

22. In the new conditions established in the post-cold-war period, the international community should redouble its efforts to seek fair solutions to all problems by peaceful means. His delegation therefore believed that certain principles should be observed in peace-keeping activities. First, they should take place at the request and with the prior approval of the State concerned, and the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs should be thoroughly observed; the issues involved should be analysed and assessed before the question of peace-keeping operations was discussed; the parties should be encouraged to resolve their dispute through negotiation; and there should be no external interference or influence. In that regard, his delegation could not fail to mention that the Unified Command, which was a product of the cold war, was impeding the efforts of the Korean people to achieve peace in the Korean peninsula. The United Nations should take the necessary measures to dissolve the Unified Command, thereby removing external interference and influence and creating a favourable atmosphere for a dialogue between the north and the south of Korea.

23. Second, the major Powers should discard the policies of the cold-war era, in particular recourse to military threats against, or economic pressure on, third world countries. The application of a double standard, which was not a suitable way to resolve disputes, should no longer be allowed in international relations.

24. In conclusion, he reiterated his delegation's support for the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

25. Mr. FULCI (Italy), associating himself with the position of the European Union set out at the 22nd meeting by the Belgian delegation, said that he wished to add a few comments based on Italy's direct experience in the field, in Somalia and Mozambique. His delegation was convinced that the very word "peace-keeping" needed to be broadened, in consideration of the new reality which was emerging and in response to the challenges the Secretary-General had put to the international community in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace". What the United Nations contingents had been asked to do in Somalia and Mozambique would seem to fall more properly within the new framework of peace enforcement. The overall context of peace-keeping had political, social, economic and humanitarian implications: sending in peace-keeping troops satisfied only some of those components. The Security Council resolutions adopted on both Somalia and Mozambique outlined a broad framework of action and, within that often elusive context, peace enforcers were supposed to help to build peace from within. In both countries, the political solution must be sought the hard way, on a daily basis, by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, within the broad mandate given to him by the Security Council and in consultation with the contributing countries. The military operation in each case became clearly dependent on political decisions made as and when the need arose, and in no way could it be separated from the broader context. Since there was no established theory of peace enforcement, its practice must be subject to the control of those States which were willing and were in a position to contribute. Italy had paid a heavy toll in terms of both resources and, more especially, lives.

(Mr. Fulci, Italy)

26. The different outcome of the United Nations operations in Somalia and Mozambique was all too well known. In Mozambique, Italy had been asked to make a greater contribution in terms of political thinking and diplomatic skill, and it could therefore refer to the success of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) with some pride. The Mozambique experience had taught the following lessons: the main contenders must be willing to work for a political solution, since there was no way to impose peace on those who did not want it; the parties to the conflict must accept the presence of the United Nations as the guarantor of national reconciliation; humanitarian aid and economic assistance must be provided in clearly defined amounts and under specific deadlines; a clause requiring periodic reassessment of peace-keeping operations should be included in all mandates to prevent their excessive prolongation; the international community must have the determination to provide effective help commensurate with the goals; the use of force against small groups which violated an agreement could not be excluded, although little could be done if one of the main parties involved was refractory; and a mechanism was needed for more regular consultation of the contributing countries on all aspects of an operation: military, political, humanitarian, social and economic.

27. Italy planned to pursue the special tasks entrusted to it by the two parties to the conflict in Mozambique and it would assist, as requested, in the implementation of all the clauses of the Peace Accord signed in Rome in October 1992. It would also continue to provide humanitarian assistance and would support the electoral process in Mozambique. Italy would maintain its contingent there until 30 April 1994, but it was time for other countries to join in helping to bring an end to the successful operation.

28. Mr. KABIR (Bangladesh) said that the past year had seen a rapid increase in the number and complexity of peace-keeping operations. His delegation welcomed the efforts to enhance the capability of the United Nations to plan and conduct such operations, especially by strengthening the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, establishing a 24-hour/7-day-a-week situation centre and forming a stand-by forces planning team. Qualified civilian and military personnel should continue to be drawn from troop-contributing countries on a representative basis. The senseless blood-letting throughout the world in recent times made it clear that tensions and conflicts must be defused through preventive diplomacy by the United Nations. If such conflicts were to be nipped in the bud, the Organization must have an accurate data collection and data analysis system which would enable it to take swift decisions as to whether a preventive deployment of United Nations troops was advisable or even whether a peace-keeping operation was necessary at all at a particular stage. To facilitate such decisions, the United Nations had to dispatch fact-finding missions quickly to collect accurate and unbiased information and to monitor potential conflicts impartially. In that connection, the Organization could consider cooperation with regional organizations, in keeping with Chapter VIII of the Charter.

29. His delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative regarding stand-by forces for rapid deployment in areas requiring an immediate United Nations presence. His Government was prepared to contribute troops, as it had to a great variety of peace-keeping operations over the years, and it believed

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

that a limited, revolving reserve of basic peace-keeping equipment contributed by other Member States would make it possible to deploy complete contingents in new operations. It also believed that guidelines should be prepared for the disposal of equipment upon the termination of the operation.

30. The arrangements for training civilian, police and military peace-keeping personnel, especially before deployment, must be improved and guidelines, manuals and other relevant training material must be developed for the entire range of personnel involved.

31. The growing deficit in the financing of peace-keeping operations not only delayed the mounting of new operations but placed an inequitable financial burden on the developing countries which provided troops. All Member States must satisfy their collective responsibility to support peace-keeping operations. On the other hand, the applicable financial and administrative regulations should be reviewed from the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, and comprehensive budget estimates should be prepared in time for review by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and the General Assembly. The United Nations would then be in a better position to reimburse troop-contributing countries. That was particularly important since non-reimbursement had become an obstacle to further participation by countries such as Bangladesh.

32. While the proposed memorial for peace-keepers who had lost their lives was an appropriate gesture, at the same time compensation should be made to the families of the deceased and also to peace-keeping personnel who had been injured in the cause of peace. For those who continued to serve in precarious conditions, every possible step should be taken to ensure their safety. One practical step would be the drafting of a legally binding international instrument encompassing all existing international law on the matter, in particular international humanitarian law, status-of-forces agreements and other bilateral and multilateral arrangements for the protection of peace-keeping personnel.

33. Mr. MORENO FERNANDEZ (Cuba) said that a growing number of countries were being affected by the excessive increase in peace-keeping operations and especially by the changing concepts of those operations and related activities introduced with the publication of the Secretary-General's report, entitled "An Agenda for Peace". The informal consultations on draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 and the establishment of the Working Group of the Non-Aligned Countries on Peace-keeping Operations bore witness to the growing interest of States in the question.

34. Peace-keeping operations and their role in the United Nations in the post-cold-war era must be analysed in a political context. His delegation was distressed at the attempts being made to exempt "second generation" operations from the standards for action that should apply to the entire Organization in the light of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, which established the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

(Mr. Moreno Fernandez, Cuba)

35. It must be borne in mind that the United Nations was composed of sovereign and equal States, whatever their size, economic potential or military might. All peace-keeping operations, therefore, must be governed by certain basic principles: first, peace-keeping operations had been conceived exclusively for use in situations of international conflict which endangered international peace and security, and never in domestic situations within Member States; second, in all peace-keeping and related actions, the United Nations must preserve its neutrality; third, the principle of seeking and receiving the consent of the parties concerned prior to the initiation of a peace-keeping operation was an essential prerequisite; and, fourth, all peace-keeping operations must have a clear and precise mandate as to their form and participants. The fact that peace-keeping operations were not one of the mechanisms provided for in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes did not exempt the Organization from applying those principles strictly.

36. The functioning of peace-keeping operations was closely linked with the approach of the organ that governed them, the Security Council, which had been severely criticized of late for its lack of transparency, biased attitude and constant attempts to exceed its mandate. The proliferation of peace-keeping operations under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the ease with which the Council decided that a situation, even one of a domestic nature, affected international peace and security, and the attempts to link the Council's activities to those that were actually within the competence of other United Nations organs were only some examples of the major Powers' imposing their will on other Member States. The increasing attempts to link peace-keeping operations to humanitarian assistance programmes conducted by the United Nations were a reflection of that trend; in fact, humanitarian activities were not a function of the Security Council, as General Assembly resolution 47/120 made clear.

37. It might therefore be appropriate for the Special Committee to study the question of peace-keeping operations not only from a conceptual and comprehensive standpoint, but from the point of view of the political and operational features of each operation.

38. The Special Committee itself, also needed to be reviewed. While his delegation welcomed its activities, it believed that its membership should be expanded to reflect the interest of a growing number of countries in peace-keeping operations and that its geographical distribution should be more equitable. Those should be priority matters for the future.

39. As for draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, although his country had joined in the consensus achieved in its drafting, it was concerned that the Committee might be taking financial and budgetary decisions that were more properly within the mandate of the Fifth Committee. Another matter for concern was the fact that the Secretariat was increasingly taking decisions related to peace-keeping operations without first consulting Member States. Moreover, attempts had been made during the negotiations on the draft resolution to alter the meaning of resolutions recently adopted by the General Assembly, particularly with regard

(Mr. Moreno Fernandez, Cuba)

to the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" and resolution 47/120 B relating to preventive deployment, the role of the regional organizations and other aspects. Similarly, there had been attempts to prejudge the work on future instruments to guarantee the safety and security in the field of United Nations personnel involved in peace-keeping operations. That matter was currently being discussed by the Sixth Committee and nothing should be done to jeopardize the ongoing negotiations. In that connection, he said that the best way of protecting personnel involved in peace-keeping operations was to provide those operations with a clear and precise mandate, to obtain the prior consent of the parties to the conflict, and to ensure that such personnel fully respected the laws and customs of the host country.

40. Mr. SANBAR (Officer-in-Charge, Department of Public Information) said that he fully shared the view expressed by the several speakers that the information component should be an integral part of United Nations peace-keeping operations. The Department of Public Information would work closely with those involved in peace-keeping operations in order to ensure, within available resources, that Member States were kept as well informed as possible about peace-keeping operations.

41. Mr. Joong Jae KIM (Republic of Korea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said it was a well-known fact that the 1953 Armistice Agreement ending the conflict in the Korean peninsula had one signatory party, the Unified Command. The abolition of the "Unified Command" in Korea would seriously undermine the effectiveness of that agreement, which he was certain had not been the intention of the North Korean representative. The Unified Command should therefore remain until it was replaced by an agreement for a permanent durable peace in the Korean peninsula.

42. Mr. KIM Su Man (Democratic People's Republic of Korea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, reiterated his delegation's opinion that the Unified Command was a remnant of the cold-war era. His remarks had not, however, been intended as a criticism of the South Korean delegation.

43. Mr. MALONE (Canada) drew attention to an error in the text of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. The beginning of paragraph 76 (a) should read "Will give" rather than "Gives".

44. Mr. DE SOUZA (Secretary of the Committee), speaking on the programme budget implications of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19, said that, if the General Assembly should adopt draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, the Secretary-General would implement its provisions as far as possible within the appropriation level approved by the General Assembly for the biennium 1994-1995, as stated in paragraph 77. With regard to the request for conference services for the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (para. 79), he said that the Special Committee was expected to hold one substantive session a year at Headquarters. That session would be included in the calendar of conferences; two meetings a day would be serviced in all six languages and provision would be made for 30 pages of pre-session documentation, 100 pages of in-session documentation and 32 pages of post-session documentation. Supplementary

(Mr. De Souza)

appropriations for temporary assistance would depend on the calendar of conferences for the biennium 1994-1995. Provision had, however, been made under the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995 for meetings authorized after the preparation of the budget, provided that the number and distribution of meetings and conferences was consistent with the pattern of meetings in previous years. Consequently, no additional appropriation would be required under the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995 in connection with draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18.

45. With respect to the programme budget implications of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19, he said that the Secretary-General had increased the level of resources requested for peace-keeping operations under the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995 and the support account for peace-keeping operations. It was anticipated that the activities to be carried out under the draft resolution could be accommodated within the proposed level of resources; no additional appropriation would therefore be required.

46. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, and the United States of America wished to become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

47. Mr. BARONCELLI (Italy) said that his country would like to become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

48. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18.

49. It was so decided.

50. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

51. It was so decided.

52. Mr. CORDEIRO (Brazil) said that Brazil had joined the consensus on draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19 on the understanding that the phrase "based on unity of instruction" in paragraph 1 referred to unity of command and not unity of training, as might be inferred from the text.

53. Mr. MUNYAMPETA (Rwanda) expressed his Government's gratitude to the entire international community for the assistance rendered to Rwanda under the terms of Security Council resolution 872 (1993) in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement. Rwanda was particularly grateful to those countries which had contributed troops to the operation.

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING SPONSORSHIP OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

54. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Bangladesh had become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.21 to L.31 submitted under agenda item 85. In addition, Pakistan had become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.23 to L.31 and France had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.22.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.